

Draft Organizing



by Earl Silbar

Welcome back to the grind. I was recently engaged (no salary for the first month at least) to expedite the resolution on the draft passed at the Summer NC in Iowa. I see my job as the following: 1) soliciting and conveying information on what you are doing on and off-campus thru personal correspondence, getting your articles on the goals and problems of particular anti-draft/war programs printed in NLN and other appropriate journals and developing an SDS draft newsletter; 2) stimulating the development of such programs thru as much travel as possible. However, people should understand that travel will be in response to your showing an interest in using anti-draft/anti-

war programs as a tool for radical organizing - not to push a pet program. Furthermore, travel money and living expenses on the road must come from you (we live cheap); 3) Trouble shooting by helping SDS'ers who might be developing programs (and therefore difficulties) similar to ones either ongoing or previously attempted.

Technically relevant background: worked several months as full-time staff for the Chicago Committee to End the War in Vn, Midwest traveller for the NCC in Madison (briefly), helped develop and organize for the last Spring against University cooperation with the military and for student power at Roosevelt U. which led to the sit-ins there. Now attending Roosevelt, working on Student Power/anti-war programs in school and with high school experimental projects.

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new left notes

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national secretary's report

ON FINANCING A MOVEMENT

The present financial crisis of the National Office is serious in itself. It is not, however, as serious as the questions which it raises about long-range problems and issues which we have, as yet, failed to confront in an open and adequate fashion.

Since we returned to this office from Clear Lake, at least three-quarters of my time has been occupied with financial questions - juggling and rejuggling debts to keep creditors off our backs; making up reports to the NAC about the overwhelming debts which we face from the last year and from the Convention, trying to find a few dollars so that Art Rosenblum, our full-time printer, can keep the presses operating upstairs with paper and ink which we don't have; deciding whether we can afford salmon or will have to buy liverwurst for sandwiches to feed the staff because they have been paid fifteen dollars in two weeks instead of their normal glorious salaries of thirty dollars per week; asking myself whether New Left Notes should ever be published again because our printing and composition bills are soon to be nearly \$2000 unpaid; and so on and so on and so on.

A lot of you folks out there where I used to be until three months ago resent the National Office and think it's irrelevant. A lot of you think that national programs are irrelevant and that maybe the NO ought to be abolished. You may be right. Maybe we ought to refuse to be a national organi-

zation and decide that the only real problems are neighborhood problems and that involvement in anything larger is "unreal" and that if we just hold on to each other hard enough in our little corners of this monster called America everything will be all right and straight and clean and decent until the bomb comes.

Roy Dahlberg out in San Francisco who wants to be part of a struggle larger than the bureaucratic management of unmanageable offices has written me three letters in the last week complaining that the National Office is really becoming isolated from the organization. I'd like to call Roy on the telephone and tell him how much I would like to fly out to the West Coast and just talk to people about the things that really concern them - but our telephone is cut off and I can't call Roy and, in any case, couldn't afford to fly to San Francisco and talk to anyone.

I guess I really resent being asked to spend a year of my life hustling money for SDS and then I'll resent even more being resented for not having done something else with my time. You might ask yourself what what makes a National Office of an organization that requires a national budget of \$80,000 per year turn its National Secretaries into hustlers. The answer is very simple: there are approximately 6,000 national

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Clear Lake

New Answers Or New Tactics?

By Paul Buhle

"To many of us in SDS, it is obvious that the organization has been drifting aimlessly for at least the last nine months. With the attraction of the dramatic activist confrontations having ended, organizing without ideology on the campuses, in communities, and elsewhere has generally failed, or worse, evolved into old-style manipulative machines.

"The mass of new SDS members has no political perspective other than moral outrage, and no ideological direction, or often a Kennedyite persuasion due to an involvement around the single issue of Vietnam. Projects are evolved - necessarily without help from the National Office - to keep members busy, and to fight frustration rather than the Establishment. There is, despite the inauguration of REP, no end in sight under present conditions to an end of SDS stagnation."

So began a poorly-written leaflet issued on the morning of Thursday, Aug. 30, the fifth day of the Clear Lake Convention. Ironically but perhaps inevitably, the leaflet issued by eight delegates (including myself), designed to force the Convention down below tactics into the nitty-gritty of ideals and goals (subsumed under the label of "ideology") of the organization was itself but a product of the groping, somewhat aimless frustration felt by many attending the Convention. Symbolically for SDS, the leaflet failed utterly to achieve its purpose. By an implicit consensus decision, an "ideological" discussion was not on the agenda in August, 1966.

To some who signed the leaflet and others we spoke with, the frustration continues, a burning reminder of the Movement's immaturity. But more than that: the frustration forces into the open a real fear that the Convention's refusal to face relevant issues constitutes a block to the achievement of that maturity, and is a serious threat to the continued internal and external growth of SDS.

Analyses public and private will be made about the splits in SDS thinking which were obvious at the Convention, about the way in which the desire for a more serious na-

tional attitude toward electoral politics in league with, let us say, NCNP, has evolved into a desire for at least some national leadership and that in turn shriveled into vague phrases about "building SDS internally." There should be analyses about the way decentralization makes the implementation of the Radical Education Project, and the beginning of a national dialogue over long-range ideals, immeasurably more difficult. But these analyses are of secondary importance to the fact that national leaders could put off a dialogue about their long-range plans for another year; to the fact that even discussing our nebulous ideals, through REP, has become a tactic instead of an end in itself.

(In this respect, the different reactions to REP were quite revealing. Despite the broadest political differences within SDS, REP was almost unanimously welcomed. Why? Because REP means something different to each interpreter. Temporarily, REP is all things to all (SDS) people: to some intellectuals it is a meeting ground and an organ for a political science forum; to some of the sanguine frustrated, it is a sort of life-giver, a magical ideology-bringer; to the anti-ideologues - and this includes those of all beliefs who want to put off long-range questions - it is no more than AN ORGANIZING TOOL.)

To at least some observers of the Convention, the open wound in SDS was indeed obvious. When Booth asked the presidential candidates if SDS was in fact the synthesis of liberation and socialist ideals, they unanimously dismissed the question as one of secondary importance; as Speck walked out as a protest against Convention euphoria, no cloud of doom descended upon the hall; and as Egleson warned against over-

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SDS BOOTH REOPENS

Univ. of Ky.

Members of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Wednesday reopened their booth in the Student Center, where Tuesday they were forced to leave because of heckling crowd of about 20 students.

Wednesday's assembly was much more restrained. Most of the discussion was debate on the Vietnam topic.

The booth was opened Monday about five feet away from Navy and Marine Corps recruiting-information booths. Brad Washburn, an SDS affiliate, said it was intended as opposition to the armed forces recruiting and information booths and also to create a dialogue on the war topic.

About 45 minutes of heckling, ranging from insults to attempts at physical abuse, began about noon and caused the closing of the booth around 1 p.m.

Posters proclaiming "Genocide for Fun and Profit Join the U.S. Navy," and "American Troops are Committing Atrocities in Vietnam" were torn down and left lying on the floor in front of the booth.

Copies of anti-Vietnam speeches contained in the Congressional Record by Senators Wayne Morse and J. William Fulbright were also torn up and thrown on the floor. A copy of one speech was set afire.

Arguments ranged from topics like the Vietnam War and World War II, to socialism and the Jews. The crowd in front of the booth did most of the talking.

About 1 p.m., students manning the booth decided to leave, "just as we were about to get some red paint," a student said.

As they were about to move from behind the booth, someone yelled, "Don't let them out," and other students moved in to block their passage. They were held up for about five minutes until interest died and students began to drift away.

Washburn said the booth would be open through Thursday, when the Navy and Marine recruiters leave.

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National Council RESOLUTIONS

The following resolutions were passed at the National Council meeting in Clear Lake, Iowa.

Resolution presented by Jim Jacobs and Judi Bernstein - "That the 1966 S.D.S. Convention express thanks to the authorities of the Methodist Camp at Clear Lake for the use of camp facilities. S.D.S. is always ready to engage in a dialogue with those interested in our organization. The delegates would therefore like to express their gratitude to the residents of Clear Lake and the surrounding area who have visited our convention."

That this statement be distributed to the local press and radio station."

Tom Condit resolution as passed: "Each delegate must receive new credentials before each N.C." (the additional part is a friendly amendment to this by Itzak Epstein) "Unless a specific change is announced, June N.C. credentials go for August."

Bob Rogers Resolution: "S.D.S. should develop referendum democracy within itself in order to provide explicit definition of its general memberships consensus on important issues and policy. Machinery for implementing referendum democracy, entailing IBM cards and IBM sorter to minimize the labor of sorting and counting votes, will be brought up in the National Council." If staff and equipment can be found free, this procedure shall be tried as a short-term experiment."

Jim Kaplan resolution NATIONAL COUNCIL MAIL BALLOT - "To insure greater internal democracy, the National Office shall be bound to decide policy and program issues of great importance by mail ballot of the National Council when there is sufficient time for such procedure. In the case of mail ballots, the National Council delegates shall be bound to caucus their constituencies to arrive at a decision on how they should vote."

Paul Booth proposal. "The National Convention of S.D.S. sends fraternal greetings to the General Assembly of the National Student Christian Federation."

Ran Kircheim proposal - "Be it resolved that the 1966 Convention of S.D.S. give a vote of thanks to Chairman Max for his conduct of the convention."

Steve Kindred proposal. "To enlarge N.A.C. council to seven plus National Secretary and Assistant National Secretary." Before enlarging the council had 5 members plus Nat. Sec. and Asst. Nat. Sec.

Calvert and Bancroft motion: "The Assistant National Secretary shall separate from the editor of New Left Notes, and the job of Asst. National Secretary shall be generally defined as follows: he is (A) to assist the President and the National Secretary in national S.D.S. and National Office affairs; (B) to assist the Vice President in internal education affairs (such as REP co-ordination with the National Office; general inter-chapter communication; solicitation of articles for the literature list; presentation of regular 'Internal Education Reports' in the New Left Notes); and (C) to co-ordinate national fund-raising for S.D.S."

7)

Earl Silbar motion - was divided into two halves and each one was passed as amended. "The National Secretary and the President are to make weekly or bi-weekly reports in New Left Notes; the National Secretary to report on the state of the organization, and the President on Political matters." part 2 - "No national officer shall take any formal political action - by which we understand formal political statements and actions committing national S.D.S. in areas not clearly defined by national S.D.S. policy - without polling the entire N.I.C.; and receiving a majority of the total N.I.C.; failing that (majority) the officers shall send out an N.C. ballot and must receive a majority of N.C. votes received."

Harry McCormack and George Gleason resolution. "That a specified section of New

Left Notes as determined by the N.A.C. be devoted to the publication of literary works, poetic, satiric, and essayistic, and that these works be done by artists whose works reflect the sympathies of the movement."

Works shall be submitted to one or all five (or more) editor-critics located in various states and shall be accepted for publication or returned to the author with written criticism by the editor-critic(s). If accepted they will be sent to the editor of New Left Notes to be published. The quantity of items published shall be determined by the N.A.C. and administered by the editor of New Left Notes.

Volunteers for the position of editor-critic will submit their written or oral application To The N.A.C.

Lee Webb proposal. "Any N.I.C. referendum or ballot (whether by mail or phone) has to include arguments both for and against."

La Blanc proposal. "That the National Secretary be required to communicate and consult with the National Interim Committee no less than twice a month and that the National Secretary be required to report on the activities and decisions of the National Interim Committee regularly in New Left Notes."

Steve Kindred submitted a motion that was passed and superseded that Le Blanc motion on N.I.C. - "The National Officers in consultation with regional offices shall draw up an assessment of the state of the organization at the regional level and a plan for their development. The report shall be printed in New Left Notes prior to the Dec. '66 National Council and considered by that body"

Proposal from West Coast on Democratic N.C.'s - submitted by Lee Webb

"1. As the Ann Arbor N.C. decided to hold the next N.C. to be in California in conjunction with a major educational conference that the President appoint a committee of West Coast people to plan and run the conference. Also, that the N.C. and conference be held out of a major city in some sort of private area. And that the National Office make the arrangements for time and place and announce it to the membership and chapters by October 1."

2. That the April N.C. be on the East Coast in the Middle Atlantic area.

3. That the June N.C. and the Convention be in the Middle West in the Missouri-Kansas area.

4. That the National Office is mandated to spend \$500 to issue the largest possible participation from chapters at the December N.C.

5. That maximum effort must be spent by the President, Vice President and National Secretary in preparation for national meetings of S.D.S. in soliciting resolutions and informing the membership and delegate of the issues, problems and specific resolutions that will be presented at each meeting. The President being naturally responsible, mobile, and close to various view in the organization have ultimate responsibility in this matter - that some of the \$500 be spent on hiring a full time traveler to encourage them to come to the N.C. ascertaining issues telling them what the issues are and find how to act on them.

6. That the three major officers of S.D.S. present descriptive reports to N.C.'s and conventions on their major responsibilities. Specifically the President should report on the state of S.D.S., its political problems, and different political questions in the USA that are affecting S.D.S. The Vice-President should report on the state of Internal Education at national, regional and local level. That the National Secretary report on the organizational state of S.D.S., its programs, regional organizations, the national office, activity in chapters and other organizational problems. The purpose of these reports is to produce information to the delegates, and raise problems and made to argue a particular interpretation of these facts."

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National Convention RESOLUTIONS

The following Resolutions were passed at the National Convention at Clear Lake, Iowa.

1. The last two paragraphs of the Art Rosenblum Anti-Draft resolution which reads as follows:

"I therefore suggest that SDS start now to organize such a program by asking those who wish to do so to start such a program on an abasis similar to a community union project."

The members of the program should be free to use the SDS mailing list and the pages of New Left Notes, but should like all the Community Union projects, act on their own authority, raise their own funds, send out their own travelers, organize as they see fit and be responsible for their actions without involving those SDS members who do not wish to share in their project."

2. Spirit-of-Body Resolution by Jeff Shero: "The Radical Education Project, as a primary function of the S.D.S. internal education program, should send educational travelers to all areas of the nation."

3. The first two paragraphs of the Fort Hood Three resolution submitted by The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee:

"Be it Resolved That: Students for a Democratic Society give its fullest support to the Fort Hood Three (PFC James Johnson, Pvt. Dennis Mora, and Pvt. David Samas) and all GI's who are persecuted for exercising their constitutional rights of free speech and peaceable assembly. Also, let SDS fully support the right of the Fort Hood Three and all courageous GI's who do not want to participate in the illegal, immoral and unjust war now being waged by the U.S. Government in violation of the Nuremberg Charter, and in defiance of all standards of decency and morality."

The New York Fort Hood Three Defense Committee suggested the following activities:

1. Obtain statements of support for the three GI's from prominent people in your area, including trade unionists, professors, politicians, and peace candidates, civil rights leaders, and of course, persons in the anti-war movement. Ask them to become sponsors of the defense committee.

2. Conduct demonstrations and meetings in support of the three GI's. Include their case in other anti-war demonstrations being planned in your area. Members of the families of all three GI's are willing to speak on their behalf.

3. Pass out fact sheets on the case to GI's wherever you can find them - at nearby military bases, service clubs, USO's, bus terminals, etc. This activity is completely legal, the response has been inspiring, and it is one of the most effective ways of maintaining pressure on the authorities connected with the case.

4. Write or wire Congressmen, Senators, the Secretary of Defense and the Secretary of the Army, and President Johnson, urging that the three GI's not be prosecuted.

5. Send telegrams of support to the three men themselves. Letters will not reach them but telegrams will. They are under tremendous pressure and the anti-war movement must let them know it is backing them up. Telegrams should be addressed individually to Pfc. James Johnson, 51581277, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N. J. or Pvt. Dennis Mora, 515-81308, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N. J. or Pvt. David Samas, 56408577, Bldg. 6769, Fort Dix, N. J.

6. Send contributions to the Defense Committee to pay for the legal fees, and the costs of publicizing the case. Solicit contributions from other people in your area who might be willing to support the case. Send the contributions to:

The Fort Hood Three Defense Committee
5 Beekman St., 10th Floor
New York, New York 10038

4. Johnathan Goldstein Resolution

"S.D.S. the Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal being planned by Bertrand Russell for December, 1966. Chapters are urged to publicize and rally support for the exposure of U.S. atrocities in Vietnam."

5. Resolution on the Case of JOSEPH JOHNSON, A Socialist Facing Deportation To Canada: submitted by Lee W. Smith, Roger Hagan, Mary Kay Hagan - U. of Minnesota. "The 1966 National Convention of Students for a Democratic Society opposes the deportation of Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities Organizer for the Socialist Workers' Party."

"Citizenship must be considered an inalienable right of persons born in this country, not a tenuous privilege to be arbitrarily swept away by the state when it disapproves of someone's ideas or actions."

The order of the U. S. Immigration Dept. is a blatant violation of Johnson's civil liberties, clearly aimed at suppressing his radical political activity."

6. Tom Bell Resolution: originated in Workshop on Relations with Latin American Movements.

"Students for a Democratic Society condemns the attempt of the military dictatorship of Argentina to suppress the freedom of students and faculty in that country. SDS condemns as well similar attempts by the Brazilian military dictatorship to suppress free criticism in the universities of Brazil, notably, the recent military mobilization against the meeting of the 28th National Congress of the National Union of Students."

We of SDS recognize as essential the ability of each member at a society to influence the decisions which affect his life. We admire, therefore, the long-standing involvement in the university and the society on the part of Argentinian, Brazilian, and other Latin American students. These groups provide a model for us of meaningful and responsible student action and power within the university and the society. We wish to express our solidarity with the students who are under attack in Argentina and Brazil, and our understanding that our fight is not a local one but a global one. We are students who are experiencing in large part the result of the long-standing positions and actions of the United States government and of the great international corporations of the United States."

We dedicate ourselves with the students of Latin America to a common struggle against a common oppressor in the fight to build a better society in the whole of the Hemisphere."

7. Resolution on Organizing Artists submitted by: Harry Mac Cormack & Sue Simen-sky

"Artists, be they painters, sculptors, poets, writers, dancers, photographers, filmmakers or musicians, are WORKERS. Their work is done, intentionally or otherwise, from a point of view expressing the way they see themselves in relation to life. If this point of view is radical then their art work will reflect that radicalism."

The approach of SDS toward organizing community people, and workers, etc. should naturally be applied to organizing artists. In the past, the ideas about the role of art in the movement have taken the form of haphazard national publications with indefinite editorial policies or equally frivolous programs. What we must work towards is having artists conceive of themselves as permanent communities which are, in fact, bases of power within the art world. Necessary to the development of any community is intense communication which can exist only through personal relationships."

The one possible example is ARP. What the artists in New York see as their needs are:

1. A Forum - where the work that has been done can be presented to an audience through:
 - A. Theatre - built and suited to the community
 - B. Gallery
 - C. Publications - including national, regional, and local press and a variety of criticism
 - D. Demonstrations

2. Internal Communication

A. Workshops and courses at the level of the movement

Clear Lake

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...organizing ideology and over-working on a national theoretical document, applause followed up from the floor.

To most of those attending the convention, however, and this includes those recognized leaders, the ideological ghost was far less important than the day-to-day work of organizing a broad base for SDS. Implicitly, I think, a new theory of social dynamics inside the Movement has been evolved, and we should look at it closely.

WHAT STRATEGY FOR A CHANGE?

Very few activists besides utter neophytes and a few sundry anarchists doubt the eventual need for a Radical Ideology. There is no question that a systematic, although heuristic and open-ended, development of social theory must one day be made available to those inside and outside SDS. (If none were evolved, what strategy could ever be worked out for social change? How could we tell people the "why" of our activism? Most important, what real alternative could we offer to those, present and future, who are fed up with the emasculation and depravity of the present system?) Yet even as the need for an ideology is conceded, the questions remain: When, Where, How will it come? We can look at three alternatives:

1) that an ideology be worked out by a few intellectuals and revealed to the rest of us. This is unacceptable on the face of it.

2) that a dialogue on ideology, including all those in SDS but particularly a) the original moving spirits of the organization; and b) the New Breed of organizers that have done relatively well in the "backwoods" sections of the U.S., be given one of the highest priorities in the organization, perhaps equal to building a mass base. This seems unacceptable because of time-lack, i.e. those who by virtue of their experience could best begin such a dialogue are busy organizing.

3) that (a) organizing a mass base be given the first priority; and (b) REP be used to give the new members a rough idea of what "participatory democracy" is. The reasoning behind this is that SDS must end its own isolation before it even begins to speak seriously about long-term strategies for social change; that there are plenty of people interested enough to get a "Port Huron Statement, Ch. 11" done by the next convention anyway; and real "ideologicalization" comes not from study and discussion but when members are forced outside their own circles to organize people, and discover they need more knowledge to do so and therefore turn back to books, synthesizing their practical knowledge with their reading).

At first glance (3) seems the only possible solution, and pretty reasonable at that. But a major contradiction lies in its basic assumption: the viability of non-ideological organizing. The projected growth of SDS is apparently based on the supposed Smashing Success college and community organizing has met so far. But not, I admit, entirely. Leaders say it is not a matter of ideology that lies at the base of our relative failure, but the need for Real Organizing, which is to say relating to people's real needs and desires, even and especially in a non-ideological way. ("Participatory democracy," said Davidson in a Convention working paper, "is often like a chronic and contagious disease. Once caught, it permeates one's whole life and the lives of those around us." We, individuals in the Community of Organizers, have only to act as fully-developed cases, squirting our bacilli at innocent students and townfolk we organize.

Frankly, I would call that perspective into question. The people I have worked with (except for a few significant exceptions) took the disease only to immunize themselves against analyzing the basic social and economic features of American monopoly capitalism and figuring a way to abolish it. Participatory Democracy in itself did not shatter their basic liberal Weltanschauung, or if it did they were left with no real alternative and at last crawled back to the New York Times-blessed womb.

I am well aware that opposition to the prevailing SDS idealism will be distorted into "socialist polemics," into "creeping YPSLism," and (horrors!) into "Old Lefty phrasemongering," but that in fact is not where the opposition lies. Many of the dissenters in

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BEWARE!

New variety of PLAGUE

Now pandemic and
highly contagious

PØX AMERICANA

Fatal to freedom and to
self-determination
Southeast Asia severely infected
Dominican Republic in coma
Brazil festering

National Secretary's Report

members of SDS across the country who pay \$4.00 per year for dues and a subscription to New Left Notes. Some of those people never pay their national dues and even if they all did that would just about pay for the publication and mailing of New Left Notes which is just about a quarter of our national budget.

Where does all the rest of the money which we spend go? First, it does not go very far. It sometimes pays the staff salaries of the National Office. At thirty-dollar-per-week-per-body that's three-hundred dollars-per-week for ten people which is not so bad when you figure that we have a weekly newspaper to put out and membership files to keep in order and literature to print and distribute and all the shit-and-nonsense of being a national office of whatever organization you choose to affiliate with.

What are the ways out? First, we could raise national dues and the price of New Left Notes subscriptions. The only reasonable way to run a movement for social change is for it to be self-financing. That is really not as difficult as it sounds. If every national member of SDS sent us twelve dollars in the next week, our budgetary problems would be solved. Will that happen?

If that does not happen, then one thing is very clear. The national office will put out New Left Notes, keep the membership files and addressograph plates in reasonable order, and spend the rest of its time hustling the three-quarters of its national budget which is not subscribed by the membership. And you will all become very alienated from the National Office.

We should, then, be clear about how we stand vis-a-vis each other. If you, the people out there concerned about a human world, don't pay for our part in making that real, then we won't be able to spend much of our time talking to you about the things which we feel to be real - we'll spend our time hustling money in vain effort to hold together a vain illusion of the reality of a movement.

Greg Calvert
National Secretary

The following resume of last year's finances will give you some idea of the situation which faces us:

Total Income \$81,999.59
Total Expenses \$82,697.26

Itemized Income		Itemized Expenses	
Dues	\$ 6,687.05	Salaries	\$11,992.34
Literature	5,691.87	Utilities	15,126.02
Contributions	48,629.20	Office	2,741.01
Pledges	333.64	Postage	5,792.85
Conferences	3,047.44	Printing	12,786.88
Sales	903.86	Publicity	1,240.12
Miscellaneous	1,993.54	Travel	3,041.82
Subscriptions	3,096.00	Conferences	4,434.23
Loans	7,128.07	Petty Cash	507.15
Exchange	4,519.62	Miscellaneous	1,963.34
Intra-SDS	195.00	Legal	705.00
		Equipment	1,116.47
		Phone	1,306.18
		Loans	6,123.75
		Exchange	5,213.77
		Intra-SDS	7,576.18
TOTAL	\$81,999.59	TOTAL	\$82,697.26

Against Paranoid Politics

by Marvin Mandell

Once upon a time there was a little old woman who lived on Brazil nuts and cabbage and called everyone who ate anything else a sell-out and a compromiser. If Leroi Jones did not exist, he would have to be invented.

Like Knorr's Jehovah Witnesses and Hitler's Aryans, Jones and Stokely Carmichael have come to believe that their "brethren" really do have charisma. This is the beginning of the paranoid style in politics.

Leroi Jones may not mourn the deaths of the civil rights martyrs Goodman and Schwerner, but I do. And I also mourn the loss of sanity of Leroi Jones and George Rockwell.

Nietzsche warned that "Whoever battles with monsters had better see that it does not turn him into a monster." Whoever would enjoy tormenting a Jim Clark may very well become a Jim Clark himself - surely the degeneration of the French and Russian Revolutions have taught us at least that! Frantz Fanon's assertion that revolutionary violence will ennoble the oppressed is a lie. Violence is sometimes unavoidable, but it is never ennobling. Violence is violence. It makes no difference whether a peasant woman is being raped by a gang of red or white guards. Peking Red Guards attacking lovers of Bach and Mozart are no less sickening than Berlin Nazi headlums smashing windows during "Kristallnacht." The only place for violence is on a psychiatrist's couch. (That is where Jones may find part of his lost manhood, by the way.)

The object of SDS should be to fight for peace, justice, and prosperity as well as against war, injustice, and poverty. We must bring up the poor minority and - excepting exploiters - not bring down the richer majority. Those who wish to destroy and not create remind me of an SDS friend who recently bemoaned the fact that here at the U. of Iowa we have a somewhat enlightened administration, for otherwise, look at the activity we would be able to generate! (This is like the fin de siècle nihilist who wanted everyone to be utterly wretched on the theory that the more wretched all were, the closer to revolution the world would be.) This is rebellion, not revolution. The difference between a rebel and a radical is that the rebel, in acting out his family problems, wants to destroy, whereas the radical goes to the root of things and wants to create.

The Negroes' dissatisfaction with older radicals is understandable, in a sense. Some years ago, in a symposium, Irving Howe concluded that since immigrant Jews at the turn of this century raised themselves up from the slums by hard work, the Negroes must also now do so. This ignores the simple facts that the white immigrants (1) came here freely and were not dragged as slaves; and (2) did not watch their wives and daughters being used as sexual target practice for plantation owners' sons. Thus we do owe the Negroes much. We cannot expect them to compete equally for jobs. Our forefathers bought their way into slavery, and we must buy our way out. Jones is right to say that whites owe blacks for slave labor, not only for reasons of past injustice, but also for reasons of present inequality.

With all their hatred, the Carmichaels and Joneses manage to obscure the real problem just as effectively as George Wallace does. The real problem, now that some political rights have been won, is that there is no earthly reason why a Negro family should earn only 53% of what a white family earns. There should be no moderation in solving this problem - immediately is not soon enough. Our ultimate solution should be complete egalitarianism, the dream of Hubert and Bobbeuf (two victims of "revolutionary violence") The steps? In addition to rent strikes and store boycotts, for example, let us form housing and consumer coops, let us demand for the poor tax write-offs equivalent to those the rich have, eg home owners can deduct taxes and interest. And Brooks points to the guaranteed annual wage and Hills proposal for a \$4.00 an hour program to renovate the slums, providing jobs and job training. And so it begins. But let us have it all in a beginning. The Jim Clark and Leroi Jones who both look forward to racial hatred and their is an ending.

Letters To The Editor

Mr. Editor

In the August 5, 1966, edition of *New Left Notes* there is a reference to the effect that the Southern Student Organizing Committee was sponsoring National Action in Washington, DC on August 27-28 with the BuBois Clubs. I wish to inform you that SSO, like SDS, is not a sponsor of the action. Furthermore, to the best of my knowledge and that of the SSO staff, SSO was not asked to be a sponsor.

I have written to the DuBois Clubs' office in Chicago and have asked that the officers of the Club make this fact known to all with whom they are in communication.

I trust that you will correct this error in your next issue.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

J W Stephenson Wise Jr
Chairman, SSO

Mr. Editor

Bruce Anderson, 32, member of SDS and an active worker for civil rights and peace, died in his apartment in Louisville, Kentucky, Sunday, September 4, an apparent suicide.

Anderson was well known to radicals and progressives in Louisville and in Washington, D.C., where he spent a two-year period helping build the Teachers' Union and working on a book on economics. He played an important role in the 1964 March On Frankfurt in Kentucky and the subsequent mass hunger strike in the House gallery. The march and the strike laid the groundwork for the passage of a strong states civil rights bill in 1965.

Anderson, educated briefly at Annapolis, U.S. Naval Academy and as an associate of a Wall Street brokerage, was known as a good friend, and a solid worker who never turned down a task no matter how menial.

Jim Williams

David B. H. wrote an article on the draft conference to be held by the University of Chicago in December. Here are some comments on it.

First, Greg's article assumes that the conference is meant to evade fundamental issues, in that foreign policy and militarism as such are not discussed as such. Greg seems to suggest raising the issue of whether a military is necessary at all. We think this attitude would be an inappropriate one for us to take. A conference in which alternatives to the draft will be considered will probably be a good thing. Every effort should be made to get SDS people and friends to attend, have papers, etc. SDS should press for a universal service in which the individual will have complete free choice of serving in either the military or in private organizations (or other public ones) like SDS, SNCC, or AFSC, etc. (or no draft at all). Hopefully there is a real possibility of changing or abolishing the draft, and SDS should concentrate on this. While it's important to discuss whether a military is necessary at all, pressing this issue will detract from the more real possibility of changing the draft.

Second, we agree with Greg that picketing the conference or running an alternative one would not have much good effect, and might possibly make us seem irrelevant to possible desirable changes in the draft system.

Jeanne Trubel
Dave Garson

To the Editor and all activists in SDS:

I am writing in the spirit of contributing to the dialogue established between Art Rosenblum and Paul McDowell concerning an effective boycott for peace. Specifically there is the hope of enlisting active SDS involvement for just such a program - the boycott of Pan American Airways planned for November 11.

Enclosed is a copy of a "call" that was recently sent to various anti-war groups in Europe and Asia with good response. The text is self-explanatory.

It seems to me that PAA would be the ideal company against which to launch an annual boycott program. Firstly their aid to the military has been well publicized

(both in newspaper accounts, their own advertisements, and the current issue of RAMPARTS). Secondly they do not offer an exclusive commodity in that the service they provide is duplicated by other airlines. Thirdly, they depend on Non-Americans for their profits as well as Americans, and operate internationally. Since anti-war sentiment is even stronger abroad than here in the U.S., it increases the chances of a successful boycott. Perhaps more importantly a successful program of active participation on a world wide basis would set the stage for future boycott programs.



Dear Friend:

Forgive me for not being able to write to you personally, but the number of people we have to contact precludes this.

I would like to ask your help in arranging an international boycott of those American industries that contribute to the Vietnam war. If business corporations are made to feel that such contributions will jeopardize their reputations and their profits, perhaps they will bring added pressure on the Johnson administration to seek an honorable peace.

As a target company we have chosen Pan American Airways. This giant in the aviation field is currently under contract to the American military to make flights into Saigon. This Spring they placed prominent advertisements in leading newspapers urging passengers to make reservations early as they were forced to cut back on summer passenger flights due to the need to service the U.S. military in Vietnam.

We think that a dramatic and effective boycott could be leveled against this carrier, which services the same destination. What we urge are simultaneous picket lines to be set up outside Pan Am ticket counters and airline terminals throughout the world at every major city that carries Pan Am banners as "Pan Am Vietnam Free Carrier." Our target for the worldwide demonstration is Friday, November 11, celebrated in the United States as Veterans Day. Could you suggest any additional suggestions you have would be welcome. Address all correspondence to:

Martin Shepard, M.D.
50 West 96 Street,
New York, New York
10025 U.S.A.

Chester W. Hartman
Vice-Chairman, Mass. PAX

The idea of a student strike in November, recently discussed in NLN, plus a somewhat similar idea brought into our office by S. Luria and the Inter-University Comm. for Debate on Foreign Policy, have stimulated a lot of thinking among the PAX Exec. Comm., and we have developed the idea a little further, giving it a specific focus. Our suggestions are basically twofold: 1) expand the idea to the adult community as well (a form of general strike); and 2) hold the strike on Monday, Nov. 7, channeling all energies into publicizing a specific Election Day protest activity (to be discussed in detail below).

With regard to No. 1, we feel that it is important (and possible) to mobilize the adult community into a massive protest, which will greatly strengthen the national and international impact of a student strike. (Whether adults can in fact be mobilized is a matter which many would debate, and it is not necessary to resolve the issue at this point; moreover, the issue is separable from the major idea about the nature of the protest activity, which follows.)

With regard to the specific activity suggested (and there is no reason why this must be the sole activity—it can be done in conjunction with marches, rallies, vigils, teach-ins, etc.): It is our premise that the results of Election Day can convey a message to the American public and the Administration more powerfully and convincingly than any other form of message. Ted Weiss made this point at the Aug. 6 NY-NE Conf. on New Politics, when he said that whether he got 49.9% or 50.1% of the vote is very important in one obvious way; but in another sense it doesn't matter—either way, it is incontrovertible that the voters in NY's 19th CD by no means overwhelming support LBJ's Vietnam policy. It is also our premise that many thousands of Americans (hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions) would welcome the chance to make some simple personal statement of opposition to the war if given an effortless opportunity—opposition that might come from any of a dozen reasons (to offer slightly a quote from a recent NLN letter on the proposed strike: "ask people to vote against the war from a broad base - not only against imperialism, but because they are unsure as to the moral justification for the war, the draft, against the way the war is being fought, don't want Americans to die, or just because they don't want to be drafted"). Our idea is to use the Election

itself as that opportunity to suggest to the voter a simple way to express that opposition, via direct, conventional, non-violent action through the ballot box, without signing anything, revealing himself, joining any group, committing himself to any specific alternative program or policy. In other words, we reach out to the vast millions who are not peaceniks, have nothing to do with the Movement.

We suggest a simple way to do this: on the day before Election Day, thousands of students and adults spend the entire day distributing in massive quantities (at least 5-10 million) a simple leaflet offering voters this possibility (distribution either door-to-door or on street corners, preferably the former). The pitch is: if you don't like the war, if you want to bring our boys home, show your protest by not voting for candidates for national office (i.e., Congressmen, and in some cases, Senator). To this could be added (where appropriate) the alternative of voting for a local peace candidate. (The original idea, since amended, was to give voters many alternatives—voting for minor party candidates, write-ins, etc.; our present feeling is that the action suggestion should be as simple as possible.) The number of blanks for national office (a figure always reported) would then be taken as an anti-war vote. (In

areas where peace candidates are running, the issue is a little more complex; the activity would have to be coordinated with the Election Day activities of the candidate and his organization.) The strike activity would be well publicized, and the Election Day results could then be used irrefutably to support our position.

Returning to the strike idea itself, it would also seem that a specific, concrete idea like this, which looks like it might be quite successful, has a far greater chance of attracting strikers than anything else that's been suggested (to quote another recent NLN letter, on the failure of the Feb. student strike at Berkeley: "most people felt just plain silly walking out of an anthropology class as a protest against war; it just didn't make any emotional sense.") You're far more likely to get people to stay home from classes and jobs if they've got something important to do instead. It strikes me that this way you have two chances of success: the strike itself (how many people you get to stay home on Monday and the amount of leaflets they distribute) and the Election Day results, even if the voters don't respond to that appeal, you still have had a successful anti-war demonstration.

(continued on page 81)

NFWA and AFL-CIO Merge

A Movement Analysis

Reprinted from the September issue of the *Movement*, published by West Coast SNCC

The recent merger of the NFWA into the AFL-CIO has raised many questions within the radical community about the reason for the merger and the feasibility of continued support for UFWOC (United Farm Workers Organizing Committee - the new organization).

Many people see the merger as another co-optation of an independent organization by one of the giant institutions involved in preserving the status-quo in American society. Whether or not their picture of the labor 'movement' is accurate is beside the point in this case. Given existing conditions the merger was inevitable.

How did the NFWA manage to stay independent until now? The answer is simple. By playing off the AFL-CIO and Teamsters against one another. Once either of these giants decided to organize farm workers in competition with the NFWA the effect would invariably be to drive the smaller group closer to the remaining large labor organization.

The Teamsters decision to enter the fields had just this effect. The NFWA might have defeated the Teamsters at DiGiorgio. But what about the other 1.7 million agricultural workers in the U.S.? Could the impoverished, understaffed, independent

organization have even begun to compete? The answer was no. Where would money and staff come from to continue to wage the struggle? There was only one place, the AFL-CIO. And as usual in return for concrete support there is a price to be paid. This price becomes apparent when we examine the structure of the new organization which the merger created.

UFWOC will operate as an organizing committee in probably much the same way as the NFWA functioned. It will organize locals which will elect their own officers. However, these locals will not be an integral part of UFWOC, they will be directly affiliated to the AFL-CIO executive committee under George Meany. Eventually the locals can apply for a charter to form their own international union.

The problems in a structure of this type are apparent. Once organized, the locals come under direct control of the AFL-CIO executive. This can have a dampening effect on independent activities of the local, especially those of a political nature. Secondly, there is no fixed number of locals which, when reached, would lead to the granting of an international charter. The status of the locals also might make it easy for them to become pawns in internal AFL-CIO disputes. The most serious problem is the new set up must be the uncertain relationship between UFWOC and the locals it organizes. No

matter what program UFWOC uses in its organizing drives, no matter how radical and independent, once a local is formed it must pass formal control to the AFL-CIO executive. It is this lost point which has caused the worst uneasiness among movement people, including those who work for the NFWA.

The question still remains - what will the response of the movement be in this new situation? In our opinion it should be one of support for Cesar Chavez and UFWOC. Certainly there are many misgivings about the form of the new organization and the limits it might impose. But there are strong reasons for continuing to play an active role in the fight to organize farm labor. The first is the justice of the cause itself. Given that there are only two places to go. Either one works for the Teamsters or UFWOC.

Farm workers must be organized. Those who would prefer an independent organization would have to go back to where the NFWA was 5 years ago. That's no way to live. Secondly, it is important to remember that the simple act of organizing farm labor has not wiped away what the NFWA stood for. UFWOC may be the best way to go for stimulating a strong farm labor movement. Now when local independent groups are rapidly growing, it is important to have a strong, independent, powerful organization to support people in thirty years of struggle.

Clear Lake

(continued from page 3)

...I don't believe that Participatory Democracy is in a very real sense the kind of society we want. But we don't believe that a society even as spiced with a few more "let the people decide" phrases like "let the people decide" can be substituted for a concrete analysis of the present society, and a far better general picture of our alternative to that society.

To those who disagree we would place a few open questions: did we really organize only 50 people on a Big Ten campus somebody mentioned, or did we organize 500 and had to hold onto 450? Do people seriously think that we will have embued our newly organized so thoroughly with the revolutionary implications of "Participatory Democracy" that they won't be swept into a Kennedy campaign in 1968? Does Tom Kahn look so foolish for waiting patiently on the sidelines until our "ultra-leftist rhetoric," or "nihilism" fades away and we find ourselves like NCUP (and here Kahn clucks with confidence) doing Practical Politics The Only Place It Is Possible—the Democratic Party?

Most immediately important for the organization, are those leaders and truly great organizers (no sarcasm intended) who warn about premature ideological development seriously working now to lay the basis for a correct, non-premature development? Or—we have to ask—are they just putting off something they don't want to bother solving?

An Alternative?

Granted that those who share my pessimism may be in the minority. Even more: granted that I speak from failure (having seen a chapter at Illinois decline and one at Connecticut fail to get on its feet), and many of those who would agree never having been involved in a very stable success. But let us imagine for a moment that we speak, like those most materially deprived in America, as the ones most emotionally if not intellectually cognizant of the organizations central contradictions. Let us imagine we could take (2), even if it cost us blood, sweat, tears, and time. Could we really come to some agreement, come to the stage where most SDS people were beginning to ask the right questions about monopoly capitalism, even if they had no idea of the correct answers? Could a significant number of activists advance beyond the glib phrases about "letting the people decide" to solid reading, talking, and thinking about the ways to achieve the kind of social structure, both here and in the underdeveloped nations, where people can decide?

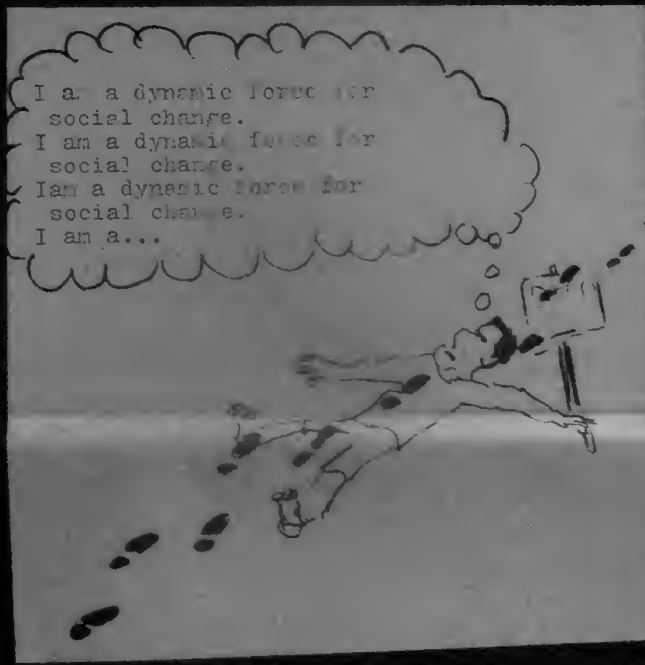
Maybe and maybe not. There are quite reasonable objections to this alternative path, aside from the time involved: proto-intellectuals would take ideological re-emphasis to mean an end to practical work; disagreements so far shrouded would come out into the open over socialism, communism, syndicalism, etc.; and serious threats of ideological factioning might well develop. (Could one imagine facing the problems in another 5 years if we continue to recruit primarily liberal Democrats?) SDS has characteristically faced its most serious problems by running away from them (pro-and anti-communism, the draft, etc.) and it may continue to do so. But it will not survive, much less grow, for more than a few years in this way. The lack of ideology cannot be faced by dismissing all ideology as restrictive dogma (the kind of cop-out we are all too familiar with in college courses), nor by pretending that we have one somewhere but we just haven't worked it out (or that we have it, but new SDS people haven't managed to pick it up yet), nor by assigning a brain trust to do it for us (this seems pretty much the way a Port Huron, Ch. II will be written, if the current trend continues). WE MUST FACE THIS PROBLEM, AND WE MUST LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR SOLVING IT NOW.

A Word to Adherents

What, after all, is to be done? If those most able — i.e., most experienced — refuse to give any of their organizing time to help in dialogue with us I don't see any way to force them. But these now leading national policy and the way our personalities on the Convention delegates proves that we are not policy leaders! have developed through personal ties, the sort of informal

network that we face in a totally atomized state. I would offer my address (2C Knollwood Acres, Storrs, Conn.) as a beginning communications center, where we can at least find out who each other are, and discuss what can be done. For a starter, I think we can, through New Left Notes and personal contacts, begin making our sizeable number obvious to the national organization, and work closely with REP in our districts to use it as one avenue of acting upon our opinions. Later, we might consider: (1) a New Socialist Newsletter, as advocated by Baum, independent of non-SDS ties; (2) pilot experimental efforts where specifically ideological organizing is attempted (much as the Weinstein-CIPA campaign in New York); and (3) develop our own addition (or alternative) to the Port Huron Statement.

Will we be splitters? I don't think so. The Community of Love continues, Brothers, and when SDS people of good will face up to the insufficiencies of their success, perhaps they will open their eyes to alternative routes.



REP REPORT

STEVEN JOHNSON, SEPT. 7

The people in the REP workshop at Clear Lake decided that one of the issues affecting their lives was a great lack of internal education in SDS. The convention agreed, and gave high priority to internal education. These seventy people hope to organize campus meetings as soon as possible to set up regular discussion groups. The meetings will choose a topic for the discussion or study group, and will probably order a quantity of REP study guides for the participants in the group.

Four study guides are going to be produced by REP. (1) "U.S. Foreign Policy and Imperialism" by Steve Rosenthal. (2) "The New Left" by Hal Beneson. (3) "Seminar on Marxism" by Carl Wittman, to be revised by Mike Goldfield. (4) "Economic and Political Power and Decisionmaking" by Green, to be revised by Mike Locker. These guides should be available by October 1.

More study guides have been promised for later this fall. (5) "Urban Politics" by Bob Ross. (6) "American Labor History" by Leo Webb. (7) "History of American Radicalism" by Hal Beneson. (8) "A Critical Approach to the Study of American History" by Paul Booth.

Chapter People! Hear our call! These study guides are for you. Organize your study group. Choose your topic, and order yourselves a supply of REP study guides. Write to SDS, REP study guides, 1608 W. Madison, Chicago, Illinois (advertisement). REP also plans: "How to Research Foreign Policy" by Mike Locker; "How to Research Your City Power Structure" by Minnie-Locker; "How to Research your Local Hamburg" by Alex Stein; "How to Make Draft Board" by Pete Henig.

The REP workshop at Clear Lake also wanted to see a continuing international monitoring program developed. Three students in the workshop volunteered to begin by doing monitoring of articles and news from Nigeria, China, Russia. All SDS members with special knowledge of any particular foreign country who would like to monitor news from that country — please volunteer. The movement doesn't conscript people but it needs your help.

REP will try to keep New Left Notes readers up-to-date on REP programs. A new tradition of radical scholarship needs to be organized in this country, and the time is now for people to begin committing themselves to this goal.

Convention Resolutions

(continued from page 2)

- B. Dialogue between the arts
- C. In general, a place where people with common interest can meet and discuss issues that affect their lives and translate these issues into action

Once numbers of communities have been formed, we can foresee a need for communication between these communities. For the present, NLN could serve as a place for discussion of how this organizing is being done and where it sees itself leading."

8. Jane Adams & Terry Robbins Resolution passed as amended:

1. That SDS see as a high major priority the formation of an experimental program of full-time organizers committed to working on campuses; and

- II. That these organizers see as their function one or more of the following:

1. Connecting local SDS chapters closely

with REP (internal education) with a view to moving students to organize in other areas, e.g. labor, poor white, and middle class.

2. Forming regional conferences so that chapters can communicate their experience and talk about mutual concerns,
3. Attempting to build new constituencies on campuses where SDS chapters do not exist.

4. Aiding student radicals in finding ways of being relevant and meaningful to the entire student body and helping to develop coordinated programs at the local level; and

5. Creating an independent committee of faculty organizers. This committee will be responsible to the N.C. and Regional Councils.

- III. That SDS undertake to finance this program; and

- IV. That a conference be set up in December so that the organizers can get together and discuss their experiences and evaluate their approaches to campus organizing. This should be open to all interested persons; and
- V. That those people who will be doing full-time travelling be mandated to implement this proposal.

- VI. That a Radical Vocation Desk be established (with location to be determined by the NAC) to inform SDS members of projects and other opportunities for full-time work in behalf of the aims of the movement

9. Motion for Plenary Discussion on Internal Education: Radical Education Project: Locker/Johnson Motion as amended by Ross.

(This motion was prepared by Paul Booth and discussed and amended in the meetings held on REP Tuesday afternoon and evening. It is here presented in the form approved by the workshop on the Radical Education Project.)

The 1966 Convention establishes internal education as a major priority of SDS in order to integrate fully the whole member. Each member of SDS should gain the intellectual tools to act as a radical upon the society.

The convention requests REP to assume that the internal education of SDS is REP's highest priority.

In its functioning in the internal education of SDS, REP and its staff shall be responsible to the SDS N.C.

In other matters, SDS recognizes the propriety of REP independence.

If the REP and its staff do not feel that they can accept these priorities and responsibilities, they should inform SDS immediately so that SDS may establish its own internal machinery for education.

Each chapter and region must have an internal education program and must elect an education chairman or officer. REP shall delineate criteria to aid SDS in assessing the adequacy of such programs.

The region and chapter REP chairmen shall communicate each term or at least twice a year with the central REP staff on the progress and needs of their education programs.

Action projects established on any level of SDS should prepare reports to the organization on their activities, and should contain an education program.

10. Program Proposal by Bob Ross (this was referred from National Convention)

1. SDS shall coordinate at a national and regional level efforts at organizing non-campus middle-class constituencies

2. Regional newsletters, conferences, and work groups concerned with adult organization shall be encouraged.

3. National newsletters, conferences, and working committees shall be the responsibility of a staff member of the National Office who shall organize within the next six months a national conference. This staff member shall fill an exclusively educational role. It was voted that all second-year members voted on at this convention will have no effect during the coming year. These members are not germinating and improving the primary amendment to the constitution and the advanced notice!

National Council Resolutions

(continued from page 2)

Literature Proposal for National Council, submitted by Mike Goldfield for the REP committee - passed as amended by Lee Webb.

I. That the National organization have as its second publishing priority, after the publication of New Left Notes, the publication of basic literature.

II. That this shall include republishing of the following S.D.S. papers:

1. Port Huron Statement.
2. America and the New Era
3. Toward the Interracial Movement of the Poor by Hayden and Wittman.
4. The Care and Feeding of Power Structure -- Jack Minnis.
5. America's Planned Economy - Rob Burlage.
6. The University as a Corporation - J. Weiss.
7. The Letter to New Left - Mills
8. The End of Ideology as Ideology - Haber.
9. From Protest to Politics - Lee Webb and Paul Booth.
10. Short History of ERAP - Rothstein
11. Freedom and the University by Weissman.
12. Students and Social Action - Hayden
13. Let us Shape the Future
14. The Intellectual as a agent to social change by Potter.
15. Participatory Democracy - Greenheimer.

III. That this shall include the publication of the study guides and pamphlets that REP is putting together, according to the editorial priorities established for REP

IV. That 2 and 3 shall take priority over all other literature production.

V. The temporary REP committee is the decision-making body for REP staff and resources."

S.D.S. Anti-Draft Proposal submitted by Art Rosenblum. Passed as amended. "Because S.D.S. opposes the "cold war" the Viet-Nam war, and the draft, but does not have a definite anti-draft program it is moved that S.D.S. organize such a program on a basis similar to that of a community union project.

The members of the program shall be free to use for anti-draft activity the mailing list of S.D.S. and the pages of New Left Notes.

They should, however, like the other projects of S.D.S. act on their own authority, raise their own funds, send out their own travelers, organize as they see fit, and be responsible for their activities without involving those S.D.S. members who do not wish to share in their project.

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY
HUAC - CIVIL LIBERTIES WORKSHOP
Draft Action Program - Abolition of HUAC and related agencies.

1. Internal Preparation for Possible HUAC Attack upon SDS.

- a. Publication of articles in New Left Notes explaining the nature of HUAC SISS and state "little HUACs"; their works, the McCarran Act & other repressive legislation; related "smear" practices of the FBI, "red squads", CIA, etc.; discussion of the kind of "evidence" which might be used to smear the S.D.S. the overall role of HUAC (SISS, etc.) in seeking to prevent social change and in repression of civil liberties.
- b. Publication by Radical Education Pro-

gram of research papers about HUAC and related agencies, stressing need for study groups on civil liberties issues.

Membership Referendum

During the National Council meeting two resolutions were referred to a membership referendum. The two are:

2. SDS Counter-Campaign to HUAC (SISS, etc.)

- a. Characterization of HUAC as a neo-McCarthyism - instrument of ultra-right.
- b. Emphasis upon importance of an atmosphere of freedom to the achievement of positive social change; the political importance of the First Amendment freedoms.
- c. Establishment by regions and chapters of SDS or SDS-sponsored committees to affirmatively defend 1st Amendment freedoms and to abolish HUAC.
- d. Use by the national organization, regions and chapters of varied and flexible techniques to rally opposition to HUAC, including educational and press campaigns, rallies, demonstrations, petitions, political organizing, teach-ins, etc.

3 Approaches to Other Groups: (Civil rights, peace, labor orgs., etc.)

- a. Seeking cooperation with groups already committed to abolition of HUAC.
- b. Possible cooperation with grass roots, liberal & sympathetic groups.

4 Targets for Action:

- a. Immediate reaction to new hearings and new issues raised.
- b. Opposition to contempt citations and support for Constitutional challenge.
Stamler, Hall Cohen citations pending from Chicago, 1965 hearings.
- Probable new contempt citations
- Federal suits based on Dambrowski v. Pfister.
- c. Opposition to HUAC sponsored legislation pending before 89th Congress:
- Pool "Obstruction of Armed Forces" bill (H.R. 12047).
- Willis "Organization Conspiracies" bill (H.R. 15678).
- Freedom Academy bills.
- d. Abolition of HUAC Mandate, January 6, 1967 (90th Congress opening day)
- Commitments by Congressmen to "Constitutional Authorities" petition.
- Pressure to get resolutions on floor of House when Rules are adopted.
- Actions on January 6, 1967 - opening day of 90th Congress.

Izhar Epstein submitted Kissinger's Amendment 2. This amendment had failed during the convention. Now it was voted on and passed and will go to a membership referendum. It reads as follows:

"Amendment 2: Reward Sentence one, Section 3, Article V to read: 'Chapters shall elect Convention delegates on the basis of one delegate for every five members, each delegate to have five votes on the Convention. However, in order to be seated as a delegate with five votes written notice of the delegate's election must be received by the National Office prior to the Convention.'

Earl Silbar's "DRAFT RESOLUTIONS" - amended and referred to a membership referendum. It reads as follows:

"SDS believes the war in Viet Nam (a clear and blatant example of the corrupt nature of the present American System. This war is not a war for freedom, but a war against the right of men to choose their own form of government.

We must bring people to challenge this war and that system. This can best be done by showing how this war affects their lives. For students and young people generally the draft is a clear and very threatening effect of the war on their lives. SDS should organize around this concern of young people thru anti-war and anti-draft activity.

SDS opposes the draft itself, no matter what form it takes, because of its undemocratic and coercive nature. SDS opposes the conscription of all men for the war in Viet Nam.

On campus SDS will organize to end University cooperation with the war machine.

(1) Find at least one person to seek (and publish in New Left Notes) information on local draft programs; to gather relevant documents and travel."

4 NEW CHAPTERS CHARTERED AT N.C.

New York Chapter
Clairmont Chapter
George Washington Chapter
Kansas City Chapter

COMMUNITY UNION JOIN

GIANT JOIN POSTERS

Contribution \$1.00

WEEKLY JOIN NEWSLETTER

Contribution \$10.00

JOIN COMMUNITY UNION

4533 N. Sheridan
Chicago, Illinois

SUAC

Student leaders at San Jose State College in California have announced the formation of a Student Un-American Activities Committee (SUAC) to hear charges of un-American activities against several national and state politicians. Chairman of SUAC is Ira Meltzer, Attorney General of San Jose State College, who announced that charges have been brought by Phillip Whitten, Graduate Representative.

Subpoenas were issued today by SUAC to the following men for hearings to be held at San Jose State College on October 6 and 7: Rep. Joe Pool (Dem.-Texas), Rep. Edwin Willis (Dem. - Louisiana), Senator James Eastland (Dem.-Mississippi), Senator William French (Dem.-California), Senator of the California State Senate Hugh Burns (Dem.-Fresno).

Willis is chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, while Eastland and Dodd are chairman and co-chairman respectively of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Meltzer announced that many prominent Bay Area citizens will be invited to testify at the SUAC hearings.

Whitten charged Pool and Willis as being "psychotic twentieth-century Grand Inquisitors and witch-burners," and claimed that SUAC is presently attempting to stifle dissent to the war in Vietnam by irresponsibly labeling all critics as Communists or subversives. He stated that free discussion and dissent are the basis of a democracy and added that students will no longer be intimidated by McCarthy-like tactics.

Whitten released the following prepared statement:

"The House Un-American Activities Committee, its sister committee in the Senate, the many state-bush-league HUAC's, and the people who support them have done much to destroy the spirit of freedom and justice under which this country was founded. They have been very successful in lowering the status of the United States in the eyes of the world, which looks to the U.S. for leadership. Happily, the rest of the world has not followed our lead and established an Un-French Activities Committee etc. Although HUAC claims to be defending our country its wide spread labeling of Civil Rights leaders as "Communist" or "subversive" has actually weakened the nation. It has silenced many who would have been dissenters, made people fear to discuss controversial issues, ruined lives and careers of talented citizens, and rendered suspect organizations that protest against things as they are. Worst of all, it has embedded in the public consciousness the notion that there is something wrong and subversive about those who work for social change, and has thus stifled that element which is the lifeblood of democracy-citizen activity. Some of these men have destroyed the lives of persons far their superiors.

We seek not to ruin them, only to expose them for what they are--psychotic twentieth-century Grand Inquisitors and witch-burners."

IUC REPORT

A meeting was held in Cleveland (Sept. 10) at the call of the Inter-University Committee for Debate on Foreign Policy in an attempt to establish coordination between the peace movement and between the civil rights and poverty movements. A preliminary meeting had been held during the summer that had set the basic agreement for the September meeting. This basic agreement was firstly, that national coordination is needed; secondly, that a massive coordinated mobilization should be held; and thirdly, that something should be done prior to the November elections. The emphasis was on coordinating national organizations and the call went out to all national peace, civil rights and anti-poverty groups and numerous local and regional groups. The civil rights and anti-poverty groups did not attend except for Bill Higgs (a white SNCC lawyer) and one guy from the MFDP, and two guys from SDS (if we count here). Individuals from a large number of peace groups did attend, however --

people from YAFW, SANE, SWP, American Friends, CP, NCC, Veterans for Peace, DuBois, Mass PAX, YSA, WIL CNVA, FOR and others. There were about 150 people in all with at least half coming from I.U.C., C.P., S.W.P. and related organizations.

The basic agreement from the July meeting was not challenged at the September meeting. The object was to see if these diverse groups could agree to coordinated action, and the subject was the detail of implementation of the general plan derived from the July meeting. The people present were successful in achieving agreement on a specific program. They decided to call for local manifestation around peace, freedom and jobs on the four days prior to the November 8 elections. Numerous suggestions for specific actions were made and it was decided that all of these suggestions would be printed and circulated broadly. It was further decided to have a letterhead committee to call the manifestations (with no organization names appearing on the

letterhead) and to set up a temporary executive committee to function until November 8 after which a new national meeting would be convened. A.J. Muste chairs this committee with Pat Griffith of IUC as executive secretary and Frank Emspak of NCC as field secretary.

Many in attendance were very excited about the results of the Cleveland meeting and think it opens possibilities for meaningful new coordination of the peace movement (at least). I do not share this view. It seems to me that the achievement was the formation of an adult N.C.C. to End the War in Vietnam and the agreement that its formation should be reviewed after its first "International Days of Protest." Such an achievement is great, no doubt, but I feel that it is an achievement in an old direction where new directions and achievements in new directions are needed. The New Left was not present at that meeting. The framework, despite the rhetoric, was single issue and the orientation was definitely adult (two meals and some coffee cost \$8 for those who registered). Having just come from the S.D.S. convention it was particularly difficult for me to enter into the spirit of this meeting. At Clear Lake the over-whelming sense (to the point of railroad at times) was of the impossibility of establishing national program and of the need for local organizing, treating the campus and middle class community as we would the poor white ghetto -- that is, movement building, not time spent answering elitist calls to action. I was impressed at Cleveland, for example, by the individual who stated that he had come 2,000 miles for meat (action) not problem but I could not understand why his trip should give him the right to decide action for the peace movement. Lack of enthusiasm aside, I do not think that the action and structure as created in the temporary form can do much harm. In fact it is likely, given that the peace movement is familiar with such calls and largely depends partly upon them, that some action may be stimulated that would be seen as positive in times of these SDS and the New Left generally must prove its approach by actual organization at the local level and by concrete results from the attempts to gain power in local institutions.

Chicago Region Disbands

The Chicago Regional Council and former regional co-ordinator, Steve Baum, agreed on August 31 to disband the regional office previously of 2059 N. Larrabee and terminate Mr. Baum's position as regional co-ordinator. Send all regional mail to the National Office, 1608 W. Madison; Chicago, Ill., until further notice.

New Issue -- SPARTACIST

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NAC Minutes

NAC Meeting - September 19, 1966 8:00 P.M. at the national office. Members present: Greg Calvert, Jane Adams, Steve Kindred, Brent Kromer. Alternate Present: Rich Berkowitz. Members absent: Paul Lauter, Earl Silbar, Jean Tepperman, JOIN, Tom Condit. Others present: Nick Norris, Thane Crosten.

FINANCES: Financial situation remains desperate. Outgoing telephone service was disconnected Friday the 16th, and incoming service will be cut if we don't pay \$207 by this Friday; \$665 is due for the convention by the 30th. And we should pay I.W.O. (New Left Notes printer) some of back bill. We will use our bank balance toward I.W.O. and borrow money for the phone bill. Greg will go to New York this weekend to contact some major fund-raising possibilities. We will save some money by printing our own membership cards in the N. O. (National Office) We will try for more exchange ads.

CONFERENCES: Draft conference in December at U. of Chicago; we've been invited to suggest participants. Should we? Consensus to just suggest within SDS that chapters check on the representation from their schools; something to that effect should go in N.L.N. "Community Service Workshop" at U. of Chicago in October; we were invited to send participants. Greg suggested the invitation be referred to JOIN; Kindred asked that if JOIN was already invited we should reconsider the possibility of sending someone at the next NAC. Draft conference in N.Y. we were asked by that chapter to send a national officer to help plan it on November 7-9. We will decide on whether to send someone next NAC.

DRAFT-REFUSAL REFERENDUM: There should be at least three weeks between first announcement of the referendum in N.L.N. and the appearance of the ballot to allow for in-chapter and in-N.L.N. discussions. The announcement will be in the next issue and the ballot in the October 14 issue. General arguments pro and con will be obtained in time for the issue after next.

MEMBERSHIP: Files are almost up to date. In the future, however, for financial reasons we won't accept membership cards from

(continued on page 8)

LITERATURE LIST

General SDS items

- () SDS Bulletin, December 1965 (25¢) bulk
- () Basic Brochure (free) bulk
- () SDS Constitution (to be reprinted; now out of date) (free)
- () Al Haber, Non-exclusionism: The New Left and the Democratic Left (10¢) Short supply
- () Freedom Draft Cards (1¢ ea.) unlimited supply
- () Jack Kittredge, Chapter Organizers Handbook (15¢) bulk
- () Mademoiselle, New Voices on Campus (10¢) moderate supply
- () Call to the March on Washington (free) unlimited supply
- () Paul Potter, Speech at the April 17 March on Washington (10¢) short supply
- () Oglesby, Trapped in a System (10¢) short supply
- () Haber, The End of Ideology as Ideology (10¢) short supply
- () Part Huron Statement (excerpts) (10¢) Bulk
- () America and the New Era (25¢) short supply

Peace and Foreign Policy

- () Theodore Draper, Roots of the Dominican Crisis - LID (25¢) bulk
- () Lauter, Guide to Conscientious Objection - (10¢) bulk
- () Chris Hobson, Vietnam - Any Way Out? (10¢) bulk
- () Information on Involvement of U. S. Corporations in South Africa (10¢) short supply
- () Peace in the College Curriculum, a resource kit (10¢) short supply
- () U.S.A. vs. Henry David Mitchell (10¢) short supply
- () Viet Report, vol. I, nos. 1, 4; vol. 2, Nos. 1, 2 (30¢ ea.) unlimited supply (circle issues wanted)
- () Lee Webb, Churches and the War (10¢) short supply (to be rewritten)
- () Lee Webb, Vietnam and the Unions (10¢) moderate supply
- () Roger Hogan, Counter-insurgency and the New Foreign Relations (10¢) moderate supply
- () Donald Duncan, A Green Beret Blasts the War (25¢) (10¢ if ordered bulk) Bulk
- () National Vietnam Exam (1¢ ea.) unlimited supply

ATTENTION: We are out of the "Killing the People of Vietnam" posters. New York Regional Office has them in bulk (\$2.50). Please pay New York in advance for them as it costs them \$1.50 to mail them.

Note: Because we are so short of money for reprinting, please don't order more than 100 copies of any one item, even those in bulk, as our current supply of them will have to last awhile. Exceptions are all in marked unlimited supply.

Domestic Issues

- () Michael Harrington, The Politics of Poverty - LID (30¢) bulk
- () Michael Harrington, On Democratic Social Change - LID (10¢) moderate supply
- () Mark Kleiman, High School Reform. Towards a Student Movement (10¢) bulk
- () What is JOIN? (10¢) short supply
- () JOIN Community Union poster (\$1.00) moderate supply
- () Clark Kissenger, The Bronx Strike - A study of student participation in labor (10¢) moderate supply
- () Mike Zweig, Eastern Kentucky in Perspective (5¢) short supply
- () Huey P. Newton, The Black Panther Party (25¢) bulk
- () Lee Webb, Bibliography on the American Economy (10¢) moderate supply
- () Robert K. Lamb, Suggestions for a Study of Your Hometown (10¢) short supply
- () Bob Heifitz, Eastern Kentucky, a Draft Program (10¢) moderate supply
- () Jack Minnis, The Care and Feeding of Power Structures (10¢) (will be rewritten) short supply
- () Paul Potter, Research and Education in Community Action Projects (10¢) short supply
- () Stephen Weissman and Doug Tuohil, Freedom and the University (10¢) bulk
- () Report on the Cleveland Community Conference (10¢) short supply
- () Andrew Kopkind, Of, By and For the Poor: The New generation of student organizers (10¢) moderate supply
- () Bob Ross, Notes on the Welfare State (10¢) unlimited supply
- () Baltimore U-join (10¢) short supply
- () Oglesby, Democracy is Nothing if it is not Dangerous (1¢ ea.) moderate supply
- () Kimberly Moody, Thoughts on Organizing Poor Whites (10¢) (to be rewritten) short supply
- () Paul Booth, Working Papers... Summer Projects 1965 (10¢) short supply
- () Prospectus for Organizing Project in Boston Suburbs (free) few copies
- () JERAP Prospectus (64-65) for Newark, Chicago, Chester, Pa. (10¢) short supply
- () Boston Prep... A summer report (10¢) moderate supply
- () McKelvey, Pacifism, Politics and Non-violence (10¢) short supply

short supply . . . perhaps 20 copies
moderate supply . . . over 200 copies
Bulk 1000 or more

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Vol. 1, No. 36

let the people decide September

we need your help .

the national office desperately needs money:

to print new left notes

to print sds literature

to pay staff salaries.

won't you help by sending a contribution.

-- the national staff

Peace Vote

(continued from page 4)

I hope this idea can be published in NLN and discussed at the National Convention. PAX would be willing and able to under take national organization of the adult community. If SDS will organize the student community. Naturally, a great deal of discussion is needed on organization of the activity: how to publicize the event before and after, and, most important, the leaflet itself. I just raised the question of who signs it - my suggestion would be some vague national name of a group like American Voters to Bring the Boys Home, with a local contact printed on - I think this activity requires toning down peace organization overt sponsorship, at least on the leaflet itself and in terms of appeal to the average voter.

I'm enclosing the rough draft of a leaflet test which will suggest the tone. I think we should aim for it. Needs a lot of work, but it's a start.

VOTE TO BRING THE BOYS HOME

YOU CAN VOTE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM THAT IS

- WASTING PRECIOUS AMERICAN LIVES
- WASTING BILLIONS OF DOLLARS THAT COULD BE USED AT HOME
- NOT SUPPORTED BY OUR OWN ALLIES
- UNWANTED BY THE VIETNAMESE THEMSELVES

When you step into the polling booth, YOU can cast your vote, along with millions of other Americans, in favor of bringing this war to an end IMMEDIATELY. Millions of Americans all over the country are being given this leaflet today, and their voices WILL be heard in Washington.

You and other Americans who are voting today can let Pres. Johnson know that Americans want an end to this war now. Although you are not voting for a President today, you are voting for national offices - U.S. Congressmen and U.S. Senators who will represent you in Washington. How you vote for these offices indicates how you feel about the war.

WHEN YOU VOTE FOR U.S. CONGRESSMEN AND U.S. SENATOR.

Vote for all state and local offices, but leave blank the space for U.S. Senator and Congressman. This will show that you voted but did not support the war.

Vote for a candidate from your area who has made publicly that he would like to end this war (where local peace candidates exist). The name of one such person from your area is (fill in)

MEMBER, YOU CAN CAST YOUR VOTE NOW TO BRING OUR BOYS HOME

Draft Organizing

(continued from page 1)

— A humble suggestion for making the movement relevant to GI's in Vietnam.

We can write to GI's by getting names and addresses from local churches and other papers or we can get the names from various corps headquarters by request to the Red Cross (who have posts in Vietnam). Distributing GI Joe letters. I will publish them in the next issue of NLN if there is still money to publish again.

We would have to have a lot of money to do this. I think we should have a lot of involvement in the movement. How we get into it, what it is we seek to realize through it, what school or the job is like, family life, etc. The experience of the Clear Lake Convention should be instructive. Groups of 10-25 teens from town come looking for trouble to beat hell out of some commie-queer dope-pushers (us). We pretty much smashed or neutralized their preconceptions and even won some over by talking about common high school or job experiences with a judicious eye toward examples of power wielded by people we didn't choose or control, the content of which we felt to be insulting.

The Berkeley VDC tried a campaign of writing to GI's but only on a one-shot, mass mailing basis. This should not be repeated. We've got to try and make human and real what we've got to say. We can't write to guys over there on a one-shot basis, to relieve frustration, write the revolutionary manifesto that will bring the troops to "true" consciousness, etc. All this does is to reinforce the junk they are fed about the beatnik commie creeps who want the GI's killed or who seek to demoralize them as an aid to the Viet Cong who daily kill their buddies.

When talking about the war with them, we should emphasize that we act to bring them home, and against the guys who are responsible for their being in (to them) that hell hole. By relating a situation which is real to GI's wherein Americans are getting the shaft, we can help them understand people trying to change unbearable conditions, i.e., movement. Such situations could be arbitrary and oppressive high school administrators the housing, police, welfare, education aspects of poverty in America; the mechanical and rigidly defined job content found everywhere; the injustice of 'justice' and so forth for the examples of unfreedom in which America may truly be said to be affluent. We must try and get them to understand that the Vietnamese are not fighting against them because of 'Ay gression from the North' or because of anti-war demonstrations but that they fight to end long years of oppression at the hands of small numbers of landlords, unrepresentative governments and foreign rulers. We must clearly show that we seek their swift return, that we seek a movement capable of transforming and democratizing America

to make another Vietnam impossible.

We must communicate what some of the goals of the movement are. Like: (a) against administrators making school an arm of government for students control. Whose power of life, death and humiliation in their neighborhoods (mostly poor) for people controlling their police; (c) against the government policies which penalize working people with rising costs of living while corporations make record profits like who got a

lot of money. We had ourselves about the effects of hundreds of thousands of GI's coming back after a years hell in Vietnam, full of hate and killing civilians and seeing all Americans opposed to the war as responsible for their friends deaths and their own suffering. Their conceptions of the National interest and the sacrifices they made in its holy name would not lead them towards sympathy for the developing Black Liberation movement, working class economic militancy or campus movements for student power, let alone a vocal anti-imperialist movement. Long term correspondence with thousands of soldiers could well be at least a beginning in the task of neutralizing these potential shock troops of American fascism.

We must try and break thru their life's experience of being manipulated and seeing the world thru the ruling class ideology of anti-Communism. For those showing some interest or questioning attitude, I have 5,000 copies of Special Forces Sgt. Duncan's article attacking the war thru a soldier's experience.

This seems to me to be a meaningful challenge to our ability to communicate to guys our own age and soon to be a force for social change. Will it be for reaction?

Letters, articles, replies, ideas, reports wanted: Write Earl Silban, 407 W. Armitage Chicago, Illinois, 60614 tel. (312) 664-3536 or c/a National Office.

NAC Minutes

(continued from page 8)

regions or chapters that don't include \$4 each to keep regions from absorbing some national funds. We will tell those new members that their memberships cannot be processed if their regions don't submit appropriate funds.

DAVID SUSSKIND SHOW. Greg has been invited to submit recommendations about New Left groups for a show on the New Left. Should we suggest other groups, also, which? Some New Left groups have been suggested but we don't want to submit any. Others: If we don't suggest any, and we're the only representative of the New Left, won't that be offensive to other groups? Alternative: Can we just try to get a program on SDS, thereby not claiming to be the 'New Left'? Discussion, also, of who should represent SDS if there is more than one representative. Kindred suggested at least one person from the chapter level be present: It was agreed on NIC (National Interim Committee) member would be the most democratic choice. Also someone from a community project should be considered. We will poll the NIC on the question of how we will participate and on who would be our spokesman other than Nick Egleson (if he wants to be on the show).

NLN San Francisco region proposes that to speed NLN we either (1) send them the negatives for NLN and have them printed there for the West Coast, or (2) send NLN to them in bulk air freight and have them addressed there for the West Coast. We'll investigate the second possibility to see whether the Western third of our mailing can get to people in less than a very unreasonable two or more weeks.

JANE ADAMS was given permission to leave for two days to see her sister off for Africa.

submitted,
Brent Kramer

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